

# PEACE NEWS

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**What shall we do with Germany?**

## British Youth wants to send a delegation

NEARLY 3,000 schoolchildren from all over the country discussed "The Future of Germany" as one of their three main topics at last week's Youth Parliament at Central Hall, Westminster.

When their report was presented to the whole conference on Thursday loud applause greeted sections which would be held to be highly controversial by most adults—and loudest applause of all for the proposal to send a youth delegation to Germany immediately.

Montague Johnstone, an 18-year-old lad from Rugby was rapporteur to the discussions on Germany. He presented his statement vigorously and clearly. Here are some of the main points:—

1. DEMOCRACY in Germany was impossible without the elimination of hunger and distress.
2. WE don't want to impose democracy on Germany, but rather to help her to find her own way to it.
3. GERMANY must have a stable economy, for the benefit of both herself and Europe.
4. OUR final aim should be to let Germany take her place again among the nations.
5. MANY wished to see the release of all PoWs, except ardent Nazis, and regretted that 6,000,000 Germans should be in allied captivity still.
6. THEY deplored, in the circumstances, the sending of BAOR families to Germany, especially in view of the effect on the desperate problem of accommodation.
7. ALLIED occupation troops should be on guard against revenge, and fraternisation should be encouraged.

There was a sharp cleavage between the supporters of a planned economy, as the only means of ensuring peaceful reconstruction in Germany, and, on the other hand, those who believed there was still a part for private capitalism to play. In the end, both views were expressed without preference in the report.

According to the Daily Herald, the BBC was seeking permission to broadcast the report to Germany.

Some of the fifty groups which had been discussing these matters had been even more radical in their approach—a few had said that they were opposed utterly to reparations. None of them had betrayed any inkling of vindictive or revengeful sentiments.

Sharp controversy developed around the proposal to send a delegation to German youth. Not that the Conference was divided on the proposal—it was everywhere acclaimed—but it had, apparently reached the plenary session by an unorthodox procedure, and the Inter-Schools Committee, which is the standing liaison body of the sponsoring organisation, wished to dissociate themselves from the decision.

But Montague Johnstone pressed the point and in a few minutes while Mr. J. B. Priestley was awaited, asked for the delegates to be appointed there and then.

# PACIFISTS OF THE WORLD MEET AGAIN

**International War Resisters' first meeting since the war**

HOW often were we asked "But are there any pacifists anywhere else?" when we talked of our attitude to war and aggression. There certainly are, in a widely scattered fellowship which for the last seven years has been like George Fox's "invisible church," while its members have tried to hold their faith. Now the black curtain is withdrawn the fellowship is visible again—in other words, the War Resisters' International after working for so long almost in the dark, is back into full activity and as the old year faded the first meeting of its Council since 1938 took place at Cambridge.

Several members of the Council (elected at Copenhagen in 1937) were unable to attend this meeting; and to those who could attend were added appointed representatives from some of the national sections. It was a small gathering but sufficiently large to bring into life and reality the opinions and news which had been collected on paper by the International. There was a world in miniature in a meeting of twenty people who listened to Grace Beaton giving a packed report of the rediscovery of the war resisters in almost every part of the world.

In the war years correspondence had been maintained unbroken with some countries, but with others messages were brief, vague and travelled by most roundabout means. The ending of the war gave the opportunity, immediately seized, for hundreds of individual messages to go out, and soon the letters poured back full of joy that the writers had been remembered, of relief that a great agony of suspense had been passed, of sadness that dear friends had been lost and grief that

others had been unable to maintain their convictions. Then came the first visitors from the continent; and now, here in the flesh, some who had for years been lost in all but our thoughts.

Hein van Wijk of Holland, defending counsel for Dutch resisters before the German courts, himself in Dutch prisons for over two years and then in Dachau for six months; his wife Jannie, cheerful despite her long privations and short wardrobe, told of the resistance maintained under occupation and the much more real resistance, though by no means pacifist,



Hein van Wijk



Jannie van Wijk

Arne Jorgensen and Hagbard Jonassen from Denmark told of their movement meeting and maintaining its monthly journal throughout the occupation. Now there are factions in their country demanding strong arms on a "never again" basis, and brave soldiers who never fought calling for a volunteer Home Guard and a thinly disguised Youth Sports organisation, so the pacifists have a full time job. They are encouraged by a resurgence already evident, of the essentially sane and peaceful Danish temperament, aware that there is no safety in arms and many better ways of spending the national resources.

From Switzerland a charming teacher, Suzanne Girard, said that they had an army but no one wanted to fight "and how could we, anyhow?" So the work for refugee children and the IVSP goes on while pacifists meet in their small groups.

Gerard Vidal told of scattered groups holding out in France and now meeting again though still lacking any cohesion as a movement.

From Belgium Hem Day had a similar story with a dramatic moment—"6th March 1945, a message from Enfield"... and they knew that their silent witness had not been in vain.

Stuart Morris told of the PPU in the war years; Sidney and Monica Townend of the work of the New Zealand PPU, No More War Movement and Peace Council, and Ernest Roberts from Melbourne, of the efforts made in Australia to maintain their organisation despite enormous travel difficulties, and to stand against conscription and a very narrow limitation of conscientious objection. Samar

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Arne Jorgensen



Suzanne Girard

to the recent call to take part in imperialist war in Indonesia. Mass desertions and failure of the call-up have at least certified to the nation's bad conscience about an Empire held by force, and the doubts about one sort of war may well grow into increasing doubt about all war.

## France in the limelight—or twilight?

FRANCE is in the limelight—a pleasant anachronism that: for there cannot be many of my readers who remember the limelight, that late Victorian illuminant of magic lanterns. Magic lanterns, indeed!

The present generation would be scornful of the naive romanticism of the word. But I was brought up on magic lanterns and limelight—and other things, of course. But that is another story.

France is in the limelight. And this obsolete illumination is not inappropriate for her. For some of the political activities which have lately brought her into prominence belong to a bygone age. Her virtual annexation of the Saargebiet, that is Poincaré and 1924 all over again; her refusal to negotiate with the Indo-Chinese nationalists—that is British-Indian policy of a generation ago. And, ironically, this goes on during the premiership of Léon Blum, the most reasonable of all the elder statesmen of France.

Still more ironically, he is not even a member of the French Chamber; and his cabinet is a purely socialist cabinet, though the Socialists are much the weakest of the three major political parties of France, and do not command more than one-fifth of the votes in the Chamber.

### Blum's untenable position

THAT anomaly explains the curious combination of a Socialist government and a very undisguised imperialist policy. M. Blum is obviously at the mercy of the soldiers and officials of France. He has to

### COMMENTARY

by

John Middleton Murry

countenance a de Gaullist policy, while he serves, reluctantly and quite disinterestedly, as a stop-gap to keep out de Gaulle.

It is an untenable position, and he has, naturally enough, declared that he will not stay in it for more than a few weeks. But an expedient of this kind, in the circumstances that have called it forth, may last a long while: for the political chaos of France, of which it is the expression, is completely unresolved.

In the simplest political terms the situation is this. About two-thirds of France are united in the desire to keep out de Gaulle: of that two-thirds, one half desires to do this for sound democratic reasons, the other half because he represents a rival dictatorship to their own. De Gaulle's would be a dictatorship of the middle-class, the Communists' that of the working-class—as the deceptive phrases go.

Similarly, about two-thirds of France is united in the desire to keep out the Communists: about one half of it for sound democratic reasons, the other half because they want de Gaulle for dictator.

### The dwindling third

THE most obvious conclusion from this rough and summary diagram is the most depressing. Only one-third of France really believes in

the free society, any more. And that third tends to dwindle so long as the parliamentary deadlock persists. M. Léon Blum is the best accredited spokesman of that third. I think it is fair to say that he represents the moral conscience of France, in the political field, anyhow. But he cannot lead France, because the moral conscience of France is not in the ascendant today.

That, I think, is the underlying reason for the curious combination of moral challenge and bluff which M. Blum has launched in the field of French economy. His government has decreed a universal reduction of 5% in all commodity prices, to be followed in two months by another 5% cut. There is to be no new machinery for enforcing price control; nor any attempt to balance the national budget. The time is too short for either of these things, anyhow: and the first would be no more successful now than it has been in the past, while the second would run straight into political difficulties of the kind that have proved themselves insoluble—the deadlock that has put M. Blum where he is, in power without power.

### Faith and reality

M. BLUM has, at any rate, shown real imagination in his effort. The problem is to do something effective to restore French unity when the will to unity does not exist; to restore confidence in the franc, without possessing the power to take the measures—effective taxation, the chief—on which the stability of the franc depends. The theory which is said to be behind M. Blum's measure

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# PEACE NEWS

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## JOE'S WITNESSES

**A** CORRESPONDENT writing to us on the usual topic (viz., the "anti-Russianism" of PN) exclaims with rather unusual naivete, "Don't you see that this stuff you are putting out is prejudicing our anti-conscription campaign?" We do not know whether this correspondent is a Pacifist, but what that sentence implies is certainly not Pacifism; and it shows how clear we need to make our own position on causes in which non-Pacifists co-operate.

As Pacifists, we are opposed to conscription for the same reasons that we are opposed to war, in any and every circumstance. We do not belong to the class described by Mr. Stanley in the House (Nov. 18), who believe "that while conscription may be morally justified in time of war, there is something ethically wrong with it in time of peace; that as a remedy it is all right as long as you wait till the danger has already arisen, but it is all wrong if you adopt it in time possibly to avert the danger."

Our resistance is entirely unaffected by the likelihood or unlikelihood of aggression. Whether, therefore, Russia would take advantage of our disarmament to extend her annexations, or whether she would welcome it as an excuse for disarming herself, is a matter upon which Pacifists can differ among themselves, without jeopardising the bond of their unity or affecting their opposition to conscription.

To lull people into a sense of security, to make out that black is white (sometimes called "seeing the good in the other chap"), is no part of our business at all. Disarmament may imply trust, but trust in God, or "the good in ourselves" (as D. H. Lawrence called it), not trust in a foreign Power. And as for faith in the Soviet Government, that can be left to the Communist Party—Joe's Witnesses.

Indeed, to urge "trust" between the present Governments of the world would probably be to cry for the moon. The American periodical *Time*, Dec. 23, carries (beside a photograph of "Princess Elizabeth and friend") a very circumstantial account of the terms upon which the Soviet Government discussed separate peace with Germany in the autumn of 1943. When we recall that the Russian propagandists at that time were perpetually anticipating a pact between Germany and Britain (and probably though Churchill very foolish for not concluding one—which perhaps he was), we find it hard to conceive how rulers aware of these facts, and of the terms of the 1939 Soviet-German treaty, can possibly repose "trust" in the Stalin dictatorship.

Revolutionary changes will have to take place before Governments can trust one another. Part of our job is to initiate those changes. Meanwhile, we have to acknowledge that they can trust one another only to pursue their own "interests." On this understanding negotiated disarmament, even prolonged peace through the super-national control of weapons, may prove possible—and is assuredly more desirable than the present state of fearful insecurity.

As citizens, faced with choices between evils, we may even encourage such measures (as some of us voted Labour at the Election): but they are not directly related to Pacifism. The peace for which Pacifists stand is one that begins in the hearts and minds of individuals, and can afford to forego security.

# The Failure of the Progressive Periodicals

by

PERCY GOWER

**W**E all still read them of course—and how cleverly they are written—but now with a disillusioned and unenamoured eye. A dozen years ago they seemed to hold a new social doctrine for us, or at least seemed the modern incarnation of man's age old cry for peace and justice. They pulsed with truth and hope, and oh how lucidly they exposed the errors and crass foolishness of right-wing politics and theory.

I almost said "wickedness," but that was a word hardly to be found in their vocabulary. It had a nasty retrograde tang to it, and smelled of the language of the superseded religious moralities, which still sometimes dared to question the omnipotence of that power which was on the verge of solving all social problems—the human intellect. And when once explained it was so clear that science and education would soon remove wickedness, and the poverty that caused it, from human society.

### Fantastic panacea

How strange, how almost childish, that hope seems now, when Science and Education, or rather the cleverness and low cunning into which these two without a higher guiding principle must degenerate, have removed not poverty from human society, but almost society itself from the face of the earth! Science, education, and the Marxist Philosophy. What a fantastic Panacea it seems now to us who have been through it, and have emerged chastened on the other side. How rapidly have these new gods revealed their hollow natures and clayey feet, and what ages of the soul are represented by our experience as their worshippers!

We are left with the feeling that the intellectual journals are writing of a dream-world, although they are so full of up-to-the-minute comment, information and statistics, of such clever analytical criticism. That is why they are so misleading and largely irrelevant—like a family trimming the garden paths while the house is burning down. Because according to their theories the house should not now be on fire.

It should, in fact, now be in course of being refurbished from cellar to attic. The new world is here. And the admission that it is a new and worse Hell, which creeps into their more sensitive or unguarded articles, is devastating. For it demands a re-examination of all their data, their theories of life, and their ideas as to what man is. Their patient is "in extremis" because they mistook the sickness, and in any case the sufferer had a quite different constitution from that on which their palliatives might have been effective.

In fact the admission would demand that they look into their hearts, instead of into their intellects only, so that they should learn the meaning of the modern experience, which the intellect alone can never tell. That is the difference between us and them. That is why we, far less clever, far less full of information, can have the right to say that they have failed us and their generation. They have ignored the human heart, and have looked only to the brain, which, uninstructed, can only touch and wrestle with the material and abstract, never the Spiritual, world.

Not that we can too much blame them. To look into our own hearts, modern and desiccated as they are, is an unnerving experience which, persisted in, lands us into a world where the old formulae do not function, and we have to start learning again, qualifying in the process—and how reluctantly—for that most opprobrious of epithets, "being religious." Being religious today means very little in the long run, unless it gives expression to the sense of the unique importance of the freedom of each human person and the embodiment in each of some Divine value.

At this level grows our pacifist faith, illogical to the intellectual, but to the man with the heart-instructed mind, true with the force of a revelation. A light not perhaps on the road to Damascus, but at least a gleam of hope on the steep Gadareen descent.

### Solid footing

In a world in which it is astounding for anyone to refuse anything, we refuse to kill each other and we agree to accept the consequences. This gives us a solid footing from which to map the world's chaos, to make a chart which, although it may not tell us the number of ship's biscuits on board, does show our relationship with dry land, the direction of the wind, and the climate of the latitudes we sail in.

The true end of the progressive journal was that it also should not have balked the terrors of its own heart, but should have become pacifist. The early 1930's were the years when it seemed both possible and their historic mission to lead the English Socialists into a new phase of brotherhood.

But when the issue came, in the Spanish war perhaps, the intellectuals fell back on their abstractions and have ever since been increasingly sterile—gesticulating shadows, of whom neither real life itself, nor the historic processes so dear to them,

take any heed. Again the thinkers have betrayed the common man.

Since then it is in the nature of things that we pacifists and progressive journalism have moved on divergent paths, and it is quite an illusion which allows many of us to look on them as near-allies, as co-believers, separated only by a thin unimportant partition of outlook.

They, like we, see the shadow of chaos thrown in giant outline on the world's screen, and think by tinkering to turn it into a more stable shape. We know this spectacle to be the projection of our own hearts and nature. To change it, we have to change them. The private virtues, as Mr. Murry said years ago, have to become the public policies. Analysing and tinkering at the effect is useless unless the cause itself is rectified.

Rectified? Rather "re-born" is the word of which the modern heart, the modern imagination, stands in need of the reality.

### Continual renewal

A wild hope? Yes, but at least we are not fighting windmills. We know it is only by this continual renewal of the human from the Spirit of God that a free human society can be possible. And an unfree human society? That surely is a contradiction in terms, that is the machine-world, the compelled organisation, towards which, in their despair, the world of the progressive intellectuals will drift. And their dreams were always Utopian, this always was the end to which their theories would lead—theories which could not sanctify human life. They had not suffered sufficiently Dostoevsky's remarkable thought that "bread for all and liberty for all are inconceivable together," unimaginable unless we presuppose a new emergence of the human heart.

Not that the pacifist illumination delivers one from all dilemmas. They are great and inescapable, but these have to do with the real problem and not with a set of questions, the relevance of which depends entirely on the prior question of the survival of man at all in a free society.

It is with this that we are fundamentally concerned, this is the meaning behind our pledge and affirmations, that the only way for men to be free and to flourish in true humanity, is for them to give up the violation of war, and to see where that experience, honestly lived through, leads them. A new birth of the religious attitude to life. A new Romantic Revival. A new Age of Faith, this is our tacit hope. It is evident that we shall look in vain to progressive journalism for any evidence of these.

# Knowledge Through Human Torture

**T**HE existence of experimental material on a large scale derived from the Nazi concentration camps presents a very real dilemma to doctors.

This material may be useful in medicine; is there anything to be gained by deliberately suppressing such knowledge? The layman's approach is simpler; he is less beset with the conflict of responsibility and moral repugnance. In the main he is ignorant of the extent to which experiments and diagnostic tests upon living animals account for the success of modern medicine.

### Possessive interest

The medical scientist, knowing that the study of disease is ideally made in man must regard these experiments with a possessive interest. The implications for social morals and behaviour will not worry him, because he regards his right to knowledge as inalienable and does not ask whether society may suffer from the attempt to lift good from palpable evil, even supposing that good in the material sense will in fact issue.

The pacifist, however, concerned with the influence that means exert upon results, is entitled to doubt that this method could produce other than misleading results.

It is unnecessary to detail the nature of the experiments. It is reported (Dec. 14) that no results of real scientific value have been discovered up to that date, and it is

—by—  
**JOHN HAMBLING**

fairly clear that their value is expected to lie in military medicine. But this may not be the case, and the general problem must be faced. Can we take the knowledge without condoning the means that obtained it?

In my opinion, that we attempt to do so at all, weakens our case against the Nazi doctors; but the harm really depends upon the value of the knowledge gained. Suppose a valuable drug has been discovered; many would let this be the justification for the sufferings of the victims—an attitude the Nazis would no doubt endorse—but the problem is more complex. Imagine the discovery to be of the magnitude of that made in the dog by Banting and Best when they gave insulin to the world for the control of sugar diabetes.

We could not avoid acknowledging our debt to murderers, names for ever to be associated with a boon to mankind. Nothing succeeds like success and it would be nonsense to rely upon laws for the punishment of future experimenters. No society penalises activities from which material benefits accrue. Such

knowledge would poison the moral faculties of any society which accepted it.

It is important to counter the tendency among doctors to simplify the moral question to the one point of responsibility towards an individual patient, "Ought I to withhold a curative drug from my patient just because it was discovered by bestial devices?" Far better not to get into the actual dilemma by refusing to examine the tainted material in the first place.

### Harsh judgment?

Some may think this a harsh judgment not in sympathy with the desire of the patient to live, but it must be remembered that medical science is making discoveries with a fair rapidity and I do not feel that we should remain for long without the specific benefits.

We are not confronted by a purely German disease; it is terribly contagious and can find soil ripe for its spread everywhere. I do not myself believe that any material contribution will be gained from the study of these experiments except to military medicine, whose interests are no doubt prevailing at this moment in blissful disregard of any principle other than expediency. It must be acknowledged that the lust for facts can be as insensately indulged as any less respectable appetite.



# German P.o.W.s in France

This is the translation of a letter written in mid-December by a young German PoW detained in a Prison Camp near Calais and employed in a French Coal-mine.

DEAR X,  
I hope you received my postcard in which I promised to send you a more detailed letter. Today I keep my promise. You asked me some questions in your nice letter. I will now try and answer them as best I can. The question regarding our shipment from the USA to France I cannot answer as I am unable to understand the position and I will refrain from repeating the rumours circulating here, because none of them can be proved.

## Behind barbed wire

But I want to tell you a few things about our life behind barbed wire, because I can see that every day with my own eyes and feel it with my body. As you know already I work in a coal-mine—and that that is no easy job you will know yourself. We are away from the camp for 12 hours each day. For six hours we work underground.

We receive hot soup twice a day, 25 oz. bread, 2½ oz. fat, sometimes only 1½ oz., plus a little cheese or jam. The soups consist of red or white cabbage, and one of them contains a little meat or sausage. Of this we receive 3½ pints per day. The quantity is sufficient but the quality leaves much to be desired. We receive 1½ oz. of tobacco per month which is not enough for a coal-miner.

Our barracks consist of huts with three-tier bunks, 140 men to a hut, completely bug-ridden. These 140 men have three buckets for washing laundry. Facilities for drying are shocking for human beings in the

20th century. Our camp is full of coal-dust and clinkers and when a strong wind blows we get black without having to leave the camp. Most men have only one pair of shoes. We have no protection for our heads in the mines. The French miners wear leather helmets but prisoners it seems, don't require them. Dust masks are practically unobtainable. I work in shoes which expose all ten toes.

The camp doctor is a "model." He pulls out teeth as well, but in a manner that makes you walk up a smooth wall. In the treatment of all ailments he acts like a veterinary surgeon. He is called "Locksmith." I was ill for some considerable time and had a temperature of 102. The shed which serves as hospital is full of bugs and lice. (We were used to something better when we were in America.) Although I had a temperature for months and lost 10 lbs., I had to go to work at 4 a.m. on the second day and dig coal as usual. (Forgive me for continuing to write in pencil but I have run out of ink and none is obtainable). Although I had to work again I was put on reduced rations because I was ill. Yet I had to complete the same task in the mine. My health is, however, improving now. I have put on weight again because I sold the only good pair of socks I had for bread and fat.

## Dual administration

The most essential things are short. We have no paper to use on the latrine. There is a military and a civilian administration in the camp; the latter is in charge of work and the former looks after everything else. But the civilians interfere in many matters. Prisoners are struck in the face and kicked. Invalids have to work with bad feet and if they refuse they are driven to work or have

to carry a rock on their back and "double about" until they collapse or they are sent to the cells. This is quite unnecessary because the German Prisoner works willingly.

But I will also tell you about some of the better things. We have a theatre-group and an orchestra which help us to forget some of the hard hours of our life. Once a week we have a film-show where we see German pictures. We can buy beer in the camp. It costs 9 fr. and is too dear because we earn only 30 fr. (15 pence) a week.

I hope this has given you some idea of our camp. What Xmas is going to be like I don't know. But I was very pleased to see from the paper how well PoW's are treated in England and it has given me much joy to know that there are still some people who are friendly to us and who can think humanely.

I wish you a happy Xmas and hope that 1947 will at least bring us the Peace which the world has deserved.

\*

\* The writer is a young boy from Bavaria who was captured by the Americans and taken to the USA, returned to Europe with hundreds of thousands of others and handed over to the French for forced labour last May. His only brother is a PoW in a British camp in Africa where he was for some time batman to the recipient of this letter.

## Words of Peace - No. 203

### MUST BE FRIENDS

"War means hate. Peace can be lasting only with good will. We have to realise that ultimately we must be friends with those with whom we fought, because otherwise we shall be enemies."

—Lord Beveridge, The Star, Jan. 1, 1947.

# Bunclark on Original Sin

"BEEN seeing the New Year in?" asked Mr. Bunclark. It was a purely rhetorical question, as he was holding the tip of my nose, and using the razor perilously near my upper lip.

"There's nothing like beginning as you intend to go on," continued Mr. Bunclark. "Judging by the state of some I could mention, when the New Year was ten minutes old, they had made their resolutions in the right spirit, and had no intention of watering 'em down. And I'd lay a hundred to one they resolved to make 1947 the mixture, as before."

"Human nature doesn't change much, and that's why one government looks so much like the last. They all come in, like the New Year, with a lot of fine promises; but they're made up of the same stuff, same as each year has its ration of weeks and days. You look back in the end and don't see much difference, but by then you've forgotten the promises, for there's another New Year or another new Government ahead of you, with a brand-new prospectus to feast your eyes on."

"There's some people think we can change all that by Act of Parliament. They'll tell you this world is full of all sorts of wickedness and explain by the hour how to legislate it out of existence. What they've forgotten is Original Sin."

"NOW, take the bus conductors, for example. They aren't capitalists, and they're no worse than the best of us in other respects. They're just a fair example of human nature and what it can do, specially when its browned off and fed up. There's bus conductors I've seen who are that patient they should be issued with a halo as part of their uniform. But there's others that would drive a saint to mortal sin."

"I was travelling the other day down to Putney Bridge, and I was one of the usual queue outside the Town Hall. What's more, it was raining. We waited nearly half an hour for a 22. Everything else came, including the usual convoy of Number Elevens, travelling in a shoal for mutual protection. At last that 22 comes up, and we prepare to board. 'Full up,' says the conductor, cheerful-like; and he leaves us all standing in the King's Road."

"Now I expect you know that it's no good arguing with the conductor. In a Court of Law he's always right, and you are obstructing him in his duties. But every one of us could see that 'bus had empty seats on top. How it helped the conductor to deny it, I just don't know; but he rang his bell and went on, whistling, having done his bad deed for the day. What else can you call it but Original Sin?"

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"AT Putney Bridge they've got another little trick. The 93 'buses line up outside the District Station, and like as not the front one is drawn up at the official 'bus stop. There's not a driver or a conductor in sight, and probably no inspector neither. Out come the passengers from the District Line and pile into the front 'bus. Soon as it's full, a driver and conductor appear at the double from some cubby-hole they've got, jump into an empty 'bus behind, and drive it off at a reckless pace. Well, you can argue whether it's Original Sin or not, but I'm sure of one thing: it's not going to bring peace on earth, or goodwill either. I reckon a man who would do a thing like that, just for fun, wouldn't hesitate long if grinding the faces of the poor would help his bank balance."

"Of course, I don't mean it's only 'bus conductors will do things like that. I'm just sore about them, from recent experience. But the

world's full of it, people being uncivil just for the pure joy of it; and what's more, it's getting worse. You'd think the only common amendment they knew was that you should hate your neighbour as yourself."

"I'm not a church-going man, but I sometimes think the parsons could have taught the politicians their business—if either of them mean business at all, which may be doubted. Society don't begin with laws, but with people; and the way it's changed is the way people alter their ways of thinking."

"MAYBE it's a good thing the politicians don't know it. It depends on which way you look at the thing. I've always been on the cautious side myself, for it wouldn't do for a man in my profession to be known as an extremist. So the way I look at it is that not much harm can come while they just tinker with the laws. We'll change bosses, but little else that matters. It gave me a kind of mournful comfort as I stood in the rain that day, watching the 'bus I'd waited for disappear, with six spare seats on the top deck."

"It was a kind of inspiration, Sir. That conductor, after all, was sort of symbolic. He was the Spirit of Rugged Individualism that will always make Socialism impossible in this country. It was worth standing in the wet to know that. While most of us are like that, legislation is no more use than New Year Resolutions. The way I look at it is, the best bulwark we've got is Original Sin, and it's just a piece of good luck that the politicians don't know the remedy. Why, if they did, they'd have to begin on themselves!"



# Pastoral

FROM the Christian standpoint, it is always a bad sign when morality becomes very self-conscious, as it seems to be doing in Government appeals on the hoardings. This is not to deny that moral virtue is not important, but rather that it can ever be made an end in itself. If, for very good reasons the slogan "Art for art's sake" is beginning to be suspect—and not before time—the similar idea "Goodness for goodness sake" needs suspecting more.

Exhortations to "grit" and "extra effort" and the incessant reminder that the same determination which won the war is now needed to win the peace is the wrong way to deal with a war-weary and disappointed public. It is like telling a tired runner who has fallen into a heap after the desperate strain of the last lap of a race, to get up again and maintain the pace with which he finished, just because he was finishing.

The fact is that such appeals demand from folks what they simply haven't got and is liable to provoke bad temper, which now of all times we cannot afford to indulge. From the Christian standpoint all this is wrong. Why? Well, for one thing Christianity is not stoicism. The will to austerity for its own sake can only be indulged with a grim egotism, for which Christianity has no use—"Though I give my body to be burned and have not charity it profiteth me nothing" is a devastating judgment.

That the "Lord loveth a cheerful giver" seemingly implies that there is no love of God experienced by the uncheerful giver, simply because knowledge of love cannot get into a straitened heart self-consciously determined on the course of heroic virtue. Christ's more excellent way is to ask for "goodwill," and the much sacrifice that following Him demands is a delightful and artless by-product.

The acknowledgment that we haven't got the "goodwill" He requires is the genuine penitence which claims and receives the gift of it. The trouble is that anyone may set his teeth to wrest to himself some semblance of virtue, but if a man challenges himself to possess "goodwill" as a steady flame in season and out of season he does not go far before he realises that the precious thing cannot be created. It is a gift of grace.

To be the real thing it must not be dependent on pleasing circumstances—otherwise it only lasts a brief spell. But the revelation coming with Christ's holy incarnation, speaks of a "goodwill" deeply founded below the depths of human adversity "sure and steadfast" and the "glad tidings of great joy" are that this "goodwill" is towards men." The appeal to our nation for "goodwill" rather than grim sacrifice would be a wiser propaganda, for it may well set the wayfarer thinking.

JACQUES.

# Ten Years Ago

Peace News, January 9, 1937.

The resignation of General Chiang Kai-shek, the Premier, was refused at a meeting of the Political Council on December 29.

Fifty (Danzig) Nazis were imprisoned on December 29. It was believed that they were dissatisfied with Herr Greiser's rule in the Free City, and that they tried to form a secret organisation.

Herr Greiser has been informed that Danzig affairs will be discussed at the next meeting of the Council of the League.

Two Naval Treaties—the Washington Treaty of 1922 and the London Treaty of 1930—came to an end at midnight on Thursday of last week.

A "Peace Act," under which it would be illegal for the Government to go to war save in accordance with the League Covenant and the decision of the Assembly, was one of the points in a policy put forward by a speaker at the University Labour Federation annual conference in Manchester on Saturday.



# "Dear Sir . . ."

## Replies to our contributors

Readers are reminded that letters, which should be written on one side of the paper only if possible, are most welcome when their length does not exceed 250 words.

### Democracy v. Communism

**MR. JOHN MIDDLETON MURRY** attacks pacifists who only ask for neutrality on the part of Britain in a war between U.S.A. and U.S.S.R., because he thinks a pacifist cannot be indifferent on the subject of political freedom, which the Communist denies. There might be some force in this argument if he could guarantee that this imaginary war would be fought on the issue of freedom. The American, closely followed by the Englishman, (both of whom won their last war for freedom with Communist aid) is in politics the world's best Pharisee, and will certainly say he is fighting for freedom even when he is obviously fighting for the markets of the Far East.

The causes of war are always very complicated, but the ensuing peace generally sifts the true from the false. It is certainly reasonable for a pacifist not to want others to fight for the economic advantage of a free democracy that can gorge itself with food and luxury as against a Communist state struggling against hardship and starvation.

The most objectionable part of Mr. Murry's article is that in which he suggests that the pacifist should be the friend of Capitalism because Capitalism treats him so nicely, as though the pacifist's object were to save his own skin and not to prevent other people fighting. Furthermore there are democracies where the conscientious objector has no status at all, and if Mr. Murry can regard the pacifists as a truly "tolerated minority" in the sense he defines, i.e. that it enjoys "full freedom to become the majority," he must be unacquainted with many plain facts, e.g. that in the majority of schools in the country no professed pacifist is allowed to teach.

D. G. WILLIAMS.

289 Stroud Road,  
Gloucester.

### What kind of force?

**MIDDLETON MURRY** says, "Salvation lies in one thing, and one thing only: in the reassertion of Law, and the establishment of a world authority to formulate and enforce it." What does this mean? Is the

"force" to be military, including all the methods of modern militarism? If so, Middleton Murry's faith seems to cut away the roots from the Peace Pledge Union. Would Dick Sheppard agree with such a dictum?

EDWARD G. SMITH.

18, Bedford Avenue,  
Barnet, Heris.

### The higher appeasement

**MOST** Pacifists, and most Socialists who, like myself, believe that Socialism to be fully effective must be international and libertarian, have found a great deal to criticise in Russia—particularly its military and bureaucratic "castes," which are almost tantamount to a new "bourgeoisie"—its chauvinism, its nationalism, and its national hero-worship; but today is it not time to "soft-pedal" our criticisms? For every word that is uttered against the institutions and policies of the Soviet Union is now helping to prepare the way for World War No. 3—the Atomic Armageddon.

The coming war is certain to be unexampled in its ferocity, and in the shamelessness of the lies employed to create enthusiasm for it. Whoever fires the first shot, commits the first atrocity, whoever first breaks that elastic abstraction known as "International Law," they will surely be on the side of the "enemy." "The Huns" of 1914-18 and the Nazis of 1939-45 will be pictured as angels of light compared with the "Bloody Barbarian Bolsheviks"—or whatever other term is invented. It is not for us to supply the war-makers with propaganda.

JOHN JENNINGS.

28 Brunswick Street,  
Swansea.

### Is it reasonable?

**IN** Mr. Clement Dunn's article, "The Third World War" he asks:—

"Is it not reasonable to believe that the world is now ripe for another form of revolution—the refusal of the people of the world to tolerate the ever-increasing oppression of perpetual war?"

Why now? Why is this age specially selected to see the light? Do the people Mr. Dunn speaks of show signs of rising above mere pro-

ductive nationalism? Let us phrase the question "Is it reasonable to believe?" etc. We may want to say yes—who doesn't?—but can one honestly say so?

"When men have fully faced the implications, I think we shall get precisely that (i.e., refusal to tolerate war.)"

"When," of course, is the important word. Does Mr. Dunn really think, looking at the misery of Europe and the world generally, that men are ready to face the full implications of any of their own acts?

ARCHD. CHALMERS.

152 Kingsheath Ave.,  
Rutherglen.

### Siberian Facts

**I** APPRECIATE the appeal made by Kenneth Farnham in your issue of the 20th inst. I have come across too much of it and any effort that will arouse the British conscience to do away with this slave-labour, I gladly support.

But it is needful not to over-state the case, as I feel the writer has done in his account of the German POW's sent to die in Siberia. It may be true but I see he gets it from a British War Office report in their official publication "Wochenpost" and I saw rather too much after the last war of this sort of thing to make me hesitate to take it in, especially when any detail given do not tally with facts.

What are called cattle-trucks are a common way of troop transit in Russia and, on the Continent. In Russia they are very large and are covered; I have travelled in them.

But the revealing thing about the writer's statement is that they left "in the summer" and within 31 days were in "the snowy wastes of Siberia"! Whatever can be the War Office idea of Siberia! It is almost a continent and it contains many climates. To find "snowy wastes" at that time of the year they would have to go to the Arctic Sea or up the mountains; but railways do not, I believe, stray quite so far even yet. Siberia is 6,000 miles from east to west and 3,000 miles from north to south. Taken as a whole, it is a fine country, very fertile where inhabited. Yet we are told that these prisoners were taken by rail where graves had

to be "dug" into ground "frozen to a depth of 5 ft." and within 31 days of summer!

I am not doubting some kind of a tragedy but the War Office has overdone it. Why? After the 1914-18 war the Government issued its White Paper on "The Nationalisation of Women" which I found, on inquiry in Russia when out there at the time, to be quite untrue.

A. P. I. COTTERELL.

Westmeade,  
Windscombe, Somt.

### Norway

**DONALD PORT'S** letter on Norway, PN Jan. 3, ends with a telling sentence of a kind to which we are accustomed from his pen. He writes:

"The lesson of Norway is not of a people who saved democracy because they loved peace, but of a people who gained peace because they understand democracy."

One's appreciation of such a graphic statement is apt to overcloud the fact that it contains a fundamental error. I would ask Donald Port what "peace" the Norwegians gained? Their defence of democracy "gained" them brutal oppression, bloodshed, murder, torture and other things of which the Gestapo were capable.

The significant feature of the Norwegian resistance is, as I am sure Donald Port will readily agree, that these continued acts of brutality against vital elements in the community did not provoke acts of uncontrolled violence on the part of the Norwegians.

Travels in Norway last summer made me fully aware of the vitality of the democratic spirit of Norwegians, to whom friendliness and helpfulness appear natural and effortless attributes. I would say, quite simply, that the lesson of Norway is of a people who saved democracy because they understood democracy. They were not, as a people pacifists, but this understanding of democracy has led to that deeper understanding of the world's problems that is an essential foundation for a peaceful world society.

We should do well to face up to this challenge in Britain: unless we do so, our pacifism is founded on sand.

LEO HUGHMAN.

47, Primrose Gardens,  
Belsize Park, N.W.3.

## A little help is worth a deal of pity

### Invisible threads

**THE** Anglican Pacifist Fellowship has adopted the distressed industrial parish of Fedderwardergroden, Nr. Wilhelmshaven in the British Zone of Germany. This is an example that might well be followed by all groups of people in this country, every church organisation, school, Woman's Institute and Youth organisation. It may be difficult to get into personal touch with individuals and groups of individuals in Germany or other European countries, but not too difficult. Where there is a resolve that it shall be done, then it can be done. POW's in this country would be only too willing to help us. There are a number of bodies from whom names and addresses can be had—

notably the International Fellowship of Reconciliation.

"Throughout the summer and autumn of 1946 the normal consumer's daily ration of food was among the lowest in Europe—nominally at the 1,200-calory level, often lower because of irregularity of supplies." So writes Henry Carter of Austria in the January number of "Reconciliation." He goes on to state—"The personal food-parcel is the only direct mode of help. If you plan to send a food-parcel to Europe, and have no acquaintance to whom to post it, I will willingly supply a name and address in Austria."

To send undesignated parcels is good, to get into living touch with people against whom we have so recently been fighting is better. There is always the hope that a delicate web,

spun out of the knowledge persons have of persons, may one day be strong enough to hold our peace.

G. E. READ.

### And now from the West

**MAY I**, another PoW Welfare Visitor, add to A. J. Gowing's letter.

Only a few of us can have the opportunity to serve as Visitors but all of us can help to ensure the effectiveness of this work.

I have already appealed to all our members in the West of England to give their support by offering to "adopt" German families, which means, not just sending a monthly parcel of food and clothing, but making an effort to establish a real relationship with the family concerned. Surely we must exert this

influence and make tremendous efforts in this direction until such time as the wider community accepts responsibility by making the re-habilitation of Germany national policy?

I hope that the folk of the Midlands will respond to the appeal from Leicester and that the vast number of West of England members who appear to have ignored my appeal will start at once to co-operate. If any doubt the value or importance of this expression of our Faith I should be happy to visit them individually, or in Groups, to give them an account of the work and also emphasise how it is directly related to our main task, i.e., creating a War-less Society.

ALAN A. MISTER.

"Lansbury,"  
Holcombe Rogus,  
Wellington, Somerset.

(Further notes on relief parcels will be found on opposite page.—Ed.).

### IN THAT NEW DIARY

BOOK  
April 19 - 20th,  
FOR THE NATIONAL  
A.G.M.  
P. P. U.

### The circus is back

**I**N appealing to the readers of Peace News to boycott all performing animal shows, because of the great cruelty involved in training animals to behave in so unnatural a way for our supposed entertainment, I am addressing myself mostly to the already converted. Nevertheless, they can be doing valuable work by bringing this matter to the attention of their friends, and seizing every suitable opportunity of suggesting to those having charge of children over the Christmas holidays that they should take them to pantomimes, cinemas, conjuring shows, etc., in

preference to the circus—which indeed, if they really understood what lies behind it, they would not enjoy.

In conclusion, may I suggest that these words of Jack London, taken from the Foreword to one of his books, should be brought to the attention of all those who believe that "it's all done by kindness":—

"Never have I been so appalled and shocked by the world's cruelty as I have been appalled and shocked in the midst of happy, laughing and applauding audiences when trained animal turns were being performed on the stage. Cruelty, as a fine art, has attained its perfect flower in the trained animal world."

MAX THOMAS.

39 South Hill Park,  
Hampstead, N.W.3.

### HOUSMAN'S

May we wish all our Patrons a Peaceful and Happy New Year enlivened and enlightened by good reading (from Housman's, of course).

For us 1946 was an encouragingly successful first year. With your support we know that 1947 will be even better.



# 20th CENTURY PILGRIM FATHERS

January 10, 1947, PEACE NEWS—5

## PARCELS FOR ABROAD

IT is hoped that by the middle of January the G.P.O. will have commenced a parcel post to the British and American Zones of Germany. It is anticipated that parcels up to 11 lbs. may be sent at postage 3/9d.. Food parcels will still have to be franked at the Food Office.

"Save Europe Now" will continue the forwarding of parcels for general distribution through relief workers, but parcels for particular individuals should be sent by the new G.P.O. parcel post.

Parcels sent to SEN for general distribution should be accompanied by a 1s. 6d. P.O.

**THE PEACE PLEDGE UNION** has a list of needy families of German Prisoners of War and can supply an address to those wishing to send an individual parcel to Germany through Save Europe Now. Many applications have already been received and the Commandant of the camp concerned writes:-

"The Camp Leader, on behalf of his fellow comrades wishes to express their sincere thanks for the kindness shown by those who are sending parcels to their families."

PPU still have 100 such addresses in the British, US and French zones; all these families have children and details of their age and sex can be given in some cases if desired. They can also supply the address of a pacifist in Germany or an Austrian individual who has been in a concentration camp; parcels to Austria can be sent by ordinary post, declaration forms must be obtained from the post office for franking.

## THE HUNGRY

*They are knocking at your door,  
If you listen, if you stare  
Past the frontier of your threshold,  
You will hear them, see them there—  
Starving people, hollow-eyed,  
Gaping through the gnawing air.*

*They are peering at your window,  
Men and women, hunger-stricken,  
Nurslings—sight enough to sicken,  
(And the children yet unborn)  
Stretching bony hands before them.*

*(Racked with hate the world already),  
Be it not tomorrow said,  
Deaf of ear and blind of eye,  
You were heedless to their cry,  
And let them hate again—or die.*

—Thomas B. Pitfield, Dec., 1946.

Our Goal Was Palestine. By Claire Neikind. Gollancz, 6d.

**S**UCH an abundance of suffering has been crammed into the last ten years that our sensibilities have become numbed and unresponsive.

Many of us have reached the unhappy stage when further revelations of persecution and cruelty only serve to deepen our sense of frustration, and, by our accumulating feelings of inadequacy, to induce apathy and inaction.

Pacifists who have so often forced their flagging susceptibilities to a quick and generous response, are particularly prone to this sort of torpidity, born out of helplessness. Humanity demands that we rise above such defeatism.

This new pamphlet focuses our attention upon the plight of the Jewish refugees, who, in their desperation, and by their thousands, are seeking illegal entry into the Promised Land. The harrowing tale is told by an American journalist who manages to join a ship-load of Jews, one thousand and fourteen of them, and to share with them the rigours and terrible privations of the voyage and the indignations, cruelties and humiliations to which they were subjected when their over-loaded ship fell into British hands, just outside Tel Aviv.

### After the Ghetto

It is difficult for us to assess the desperation that drives these people, who have suffered so long in the ghettos and concentration camps of Europe, to take such risks and endure such hardships. Owing to the anticipated dangers of the voyage, all pregnant women and all children were forbidden passage, yet several pregnant women, in their extremity, smuggled themselves aboard.

By the time the ship reached the 200 mile zone off Palestine, many of the passengers, herded like cattle between-decks in the terrible heat, were seriously ill. They were forced to stay under cover in case a British plane spotted the crowded deck and decided to investigate.

Their precautions did not elude the crew of a patrolling Lancaster and soon destroyers were heading for the refugees. They reduced all opposition by ramming the ship from both sides and by the liberal use of seawater directed at all and sundry from heavy hoses. Then the British sailors boarded her with Tommy-guns at the ready.

"Our ship was a complete shambles, its rails stove in, the lifeboat smashed, the bridge splintered."

Thirst had become an excruciating torture.

"Some people drank salt water, and soon after they began to writhe on the deck in agony, tearing at their clothes, faces and bodies with their nails, and moaning. Everywhere men and women were fainting, collapsing silently into heaps where they stood. Others cried without stopping."

"In the face of such an orgy of suffering, the British soldiers averted their eyes."

At Haifa they were transferred to the prison-ship that was to take them to their camp at Cyprus. The shores of the Promised Land were in sight, and one can guess at the agony of frustration that must have assailed the refugees as they watched the beloved shores receding into the hazy distance.

The camp at Famagusta, Cyprus, brought back hellish memories to many of the Jews as they were driven in armoured trucks between the gates with their barbed-wire coils, and the platforms complete with searchlights and sentries. Once again they were outcasts from the world, after the war for freedom and to end persecution.

The recent Zionist Congress at Basle has not helped to clarify the problems of Palestine, and certainly has not helped the cause of the Jew in his Cyprus detention camp. The deadlock seems almost complete, and the deplorable terrorism of the Irgun militants only tends to harden public opinion against their compatriots.

There is no easy way out, and the Government are not to be envied their urgent task. Some form of partition seems to be unavoidable, and it is to be hoped that both Arab and Jew will see their way to accept a compromise. Meanwhile, the publication of this, and similar pamphlets, may help to stem the alarming wave of anti-Semitism that is sweeping the country. Here is a task for all of us, when a rational interjection may block the flow of vague generalisations which we hear so often issuing from the lips of our acquaintances, and foster a more objective study of this supremely human problem.

BEN E. OWEN.

## REG CHAMPION

**REGINALD CHAMPION**, who is well-known to all who have worked with the IVSP, has for some time past been working in Berlin amongst refugees from Eastern Germany. His many friends will be glad to learn that he recently became engaged to a German lady doctor, Dr. Eva Klapper, and hopes soon to be returning to this country.

## C.O.s now eligible as probation officer

**THE** Probation Training Board has lifted the ban on applications from COs, the Central Board for COs has been informed by the Home Office. The Training Board is concerned with the organisation of training courses and the selection of candidates for training as Probation Officers, a type of social service to which many COs are attracted.

COs were "banned" earlier because local Magistrates, with whom the appointment of Probation Officers lay, were so reluctant to accept them. This seemed to be partly through prejudice and partly through a belief that a member of an unpopular minority would not gain the confidence of people in their care.

Some of the men in training at the beginning of the war registered as COs and several of these had to take up other work. Others had their training extended until they ultimately succeeded in getting appointments. No more COs were accepted for training until 1944 when four were taken, only two of whom secured appointments.

Advice on individual cases can be obtained from the Central Board for COs, 6 Endsleigh Street, W.C.1.

## Peace & quiet department

"Older Men Shunt Less Noisily."  
—Headline in local paper.

**THERE** seems to have been a grave error of organisation somewhere in our civilisation. As quietness is essential to peace, and one of the major horrors of modern war is the considerable amount of noise it involves, we have a clear duty to minimise this disharmony. For years we have been deafened and distracted by the inconsiderate movements of clumsy youths, when all the time we should have been calling up our 1880 class who would have shown some discretion in their manoeuvres.

If our Grand Old Men can shunt less noisily presumably they can also shuffle and, with a little practice, march without any of the attendant clumping so distressing and harmful to feminine morale. And when the testing time comes we may be sure that they will die, quietly, with their boots clean... whilst our raucous young men remove their boots, creep into their slippers, and begin to live.

### I RENOUNCE WAR AND I WILL NEVER SUPPORT OR SANCTION ANOTHER

This pledge, signed by each member, is the basis of the Peace Pledge Union. Send YOUR pledge to

P.P.U. HEADQUARTERS

Dick Sheppard House, Endsleigh St., W.C.1

## PLEASE READ CAREFULLY

**LATEST TIME for copy:** Monday before publication.  
**TERMS:** Cash with order, 3d. per word, minimum 2s. 6d. (Box No. 6d. extra). Please don't send stamps in payment, except for odd pence. Maximum length: 60 words. Address for Box No. replies: Peace News, 3 Blackstock Rd., N.4.

When corresponding with PN about an advertisement, quote its first words, classification, and date.

We reserve the right to hold over advertisements and to limit the frequency of continuing advertisements.

### MEETINGS, &c.

**LONDON, W.C.1.** 8 Endsleigh Gardens. Discussion lectures every Sun., 7.30 p.m. Jan. 12: "What is Anarchism?" A. Brains Trust, Jan. 19: "Is Britain Moving Towards Socialism?" F. A. Ridley. London Anarchist Group.

**REIGATE & REDHILL.** Friends Meeting House, Reigate Rd., Sat., Jan. 11, 5.30 p.m. "Pacifism and the Press." Sybil Morrison. Reigate & Redhill PPU.

**MUSWELL HILL.** Friends Meeting House, Church Cres. (near Cranley House Stn.), Thu., Jan. 16, 8 p.m. "Pacifism & the Press." Sybil Morrison. Wood Green PPU.

### ACCOMMODATION

**WOULD MOTHERLY** woman take vegetarian mother and eight month baby for a month's rest, preferably south. Can pay well. Box 607.

**WANTED.** BED, breakfast, meal in evening. Within hour Kingway. William Carter, 50 Broxash Road, Clapham Common, S.W.11.

**YOUNG MAN,** ex-jailbird C.O., character otherwise cast-iron, wants accommodation with homely people, vicinity Ilford or Essex. Am handy, sociable, sense of humour. What offers? Box 613.

**PINEHURST GUEST** House offers holiday accommodation in lovely surroundings. Ideal walking country. Full board 15s. per day. Phone Abinger 368.

## CLASSIFIED ADVERTISEMENTS

**AN EMBITTERED** war-maimed guardsman seeks essentially kindly home (not digs) with refined working class, preferably dog owner and music lover. Own unfurn. room, sole boarder, e.l. and bath. BM/WLTA, W.C.

**DELIGHTFULLY SITUATED.** Sunny Surrey, Vegetarian Guest House, cradled amidst beautiful pine-woods. 24 acre grounds, brochure "Pinehills" Lower Bourne, Farnham. Telephone Frensham 417.

**DERBYSHIRE HILLS.** Food Reform Vegetarian Guest House for happy holidays or restful recuperation; all modern comforts. A. and K. Ludlow, The Briars, Crich, Matlock. (Station: Ambergate. Tel.: Ambergate 44).

### SCHOOLS

**BECKETTS SCHOOL** and Community, Skenfrith, Mon. Individual care and home security from 3 yrs.

### EDUCATIONAL

**PIANOFORTE PLAYING** and Technique. Private lessons, day or evening, especially for adults. Interview and advice free. Write: Bernard Wellsbury, at Weekes' Studios, Hanover St. (Oxford Circus), London, W.1.

**SPEAKING AND WRITING** lessons (correspondence, or visit) 5s. classes 1s. 6d. Dorothy Matthews, B.A., 32 Primrose Hill Rd., London, N.W.3. PRImrose 5686.

### LAND

**COUPLE WITH 4½ acres** good land spare, invite suggestions—free co-operation; mutual help; progressive. Walden Acres, Sandford, Bristol.

### FOR SALE & WANTED

**C.O. LANDWORKERS** urgently need car or van; any condition, provided engine sound. Box 610.

**FOR SALE:** Twenty £1 shares in the Holton Beckering Estates Ltd. Apply: Sykes, 128 Galliard Rd., N.9.

**WAR RESISTERS' International** wd. welcome gifts of foreign stamps for subsequent sale on behalf of W.R.I. funds. Any such gifts received with gratitude. Pl. send to the War Resisters' International, 11 Abbey Rd., Enfield.

### LITERATURE, &c.

**BOOKS ON** religion, psychology, philosophy, sociology, fiction, the arts, poetry, etc., 24d. stamp for lists. Kingdom Books, East Mersea, Colchester, Essex.

**"THE FARMER"**—illustrated quarterly Journal of Natural Farming and Living. Winter number includes contributions on composting, vaccination, benevolent bacteria, artificial insemination, community murder by Government food orders, and many others from Sir Albert Howard, Newman Turner, Dr. C. V. Pink, Peter Freeman, MP. Annual subscription 6s. 6d. post free, from the farm where natural methods are successfully practised. Edited by Newman Turner, Goose Green Farm, Bridgwater, Somerset.

**QUAKERISM.** Information and Literature respecting the Faith and Practice of the Religious Society of Friends, free on application to the Friends' Home Service Committee, Friends' House, Euston Rd., London. **ART AND Music Reading,** a postal lending library service of new books on Music, the Visual Arts, Theatre and Architecture. Write for prospectus, Sec., Art and Music Reading (pa), 59, Millbank, London, S.W.1.

### PERSONAL

**YOUNG MAN,** 31, interested in walking, cycling, theatre and cinema, seeks young lady friend, 17-30. Northants or bordering counties. Box 611.

**MALE C.O., 36.** Interested in philosophy, sport, motoring, country life, people, etc., etc., wishes to contact lady similar interests. Box 614.

**NORTH LONDON PLAYERS** present Cocteau's "Infernal Machine," White Hart Lane (New) School, Wood Green (Piccadilly line tube), January 17 & 18, 7.30. Tickets 3s. 6d., 2s. 6d., 1s. 6d. from Nellie Harby, 74, Ingleton-rd., N.18, or at door.

**ACTIVE PROPONENTS,** Gerald Heard or Aldous Huxley basic theories 1935-1945, or Somerset Maugham's Razor Edge. Write Sec Heard-Huxley Group, "Merville," Tulse Hill, S.W.2.

**CONTACT CLUB.** Congenial pen friendships for all. Parties, stp. Sec., P.N. 19 Ty Fry Gdns., Rumney, Cardiff.

**ASTROLOGY.**—A free Test Horoscope. Helpful advice and guidance. Send Birthdate, stamped-addressed envelope. The Psycho-Success Institute, (A.28), 64 Aldermanbury, London, E.C.2.

**PARTIES, ETC.** Photographs make a good record; so do child studies taken in the natural surroundings of your home. Jack Mayes, 207 Fox Lane, N.13. PAL. 9005.

### SITUATIONS VACANT

We cannot confirm satisfactory conditions of employment in all posts advertised. Applications in doubt are recommended to consult the Central Board for COs, 6 Endsleigh St., W.C.1, which will often be able to give useful advice.

**YOUNG BACHELOR** to join two others in book business, also help housework. Seaside country. Typist preferred. Box 615.

**BECKETTS SCHOOL** need cook, matron and qualified teacher for junior group for educational community. Apply Blackbrooke, Skenfrith, Mon.

**INTELLIGENT ASSISTANT** to share household duties and care of two children (2 months and 2 years). Modernised farmhouse. Pacifists. organic farming. Evered, Snowford Hall, Hunningham, Leamington.

**ACTIVE CLERKS,** Juniors and Shorthand-Typists required. Box 612. **GARDENER NEEDED** school Community. Becketts, Blackbrooke, Skenfrith, Mon.

**SITUATIONS and WORK WANTED** **BISCUIT BAKER,** fully experienced, seeks position, preferably in Oldham (Lancs.) region, but any other district considered. Suggestions please to CHCO, Employment Section, 6 Endsleigh St., London, W.C.1.

**MARRIED C.O.** with 2 children, living N.19, seeks opening in painting and decorating trade. Suggestions please to above.

**CLERICAL APPOINTMENT** required by released C.O. Assistant to Farm Secretary or Agricultural Auctioneers, office preferred (anything considered). Box 609.

**FIRST CLASS** duplicating of all descriptions, typewriting, etc. Mabel Eyles, 2 Aberdeen Park, Highbury, N.5. Tel. Canonbury 8862.

### MISCELLANEOUS

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## What M. Blum's courage may do

### COMMENTARY CONTINUED

is that the rise of prices in France has been due rather to unwillingness to sell goods than to shortage of goods, or currency inflation.

An economist would raise his eyebrows—even his hair—at such a theory: he would say, people are never unwilling to sell goods for good money—i.e., money that will buy other goods. To which M. Blum might retort: "Yes, but the people of France are in a queer condition. They vote themselves a Parliamentary constitution which they refuse to work. The Parliament makes me Prime Minister because I don't want to be. I am a ghost invoked to keep these half-real institutions in being. Democracy in France, and the franc, belong to the same limbo of semi-reality. The majority have no faith in either. But both need faith to make them real. It is no use appealing directly for faith in democracy or faith in France. I will appeal for faith in the franc."

It is really an extraordinary gesture: if it succeeds, it will have to be described as a stroke of sheer inspiration. It is conceivable that it may save the free society in France. What it amounts to is an appeal to French "honour" to arrest its own moral and economic decline.

### The Monnet plan

BUT it is a very far cry from this to the elaborate plan of the Monnet report for the renovation of the entire capital equipment of France by internal economies. Details apart, it is essentially the same as the five-year-plans of Soviet Russia, or the present austerity regime in Britain: a policy of abstention from present consumption in order to provide capital goods for future consumption.

But whereas in Russia the abstention is enforced dictatorially from above, while in Britain the abstention is generally agreed on and practised though the plans are vague, in France the plans are admirably clear, but the willingness to abstain entirely problematic.

That seems curious in view of the fact that France is the "saving" nation par excellence. But the question is: What are the savings used for? In France they have been used mainly to establish fresh claims on the State and not to finance productive enterprise; and they have been swollen by the widespread practice of tax-evasion. When tax-evasion is the means of establishing fresh claims on the State, a nation's economy becomes quite paradoxical. The value of money is bound steadily to decline until the virtual paralysis of a pure barter economy is reached. To break out of this vicious circle is practically impossible when there is no government with effective power. France, at present, will neither work Democracy nor accept Dictatorship.

### "Nightmare" zone

HENCE the deep-seated contradictions of her policies. They are as extravagantly dictatorial abroad, as they are extravagantly democratic at home. The free society without sacrifice at home, and an anachronistic imperialism abroad. Compared with this, Britain's tentative groping after policies fitted to the new age seems very enlightened indeed. Yet it goes against the grain to believe that France has really lost the will to live, however hard it may be to reassert it after all the moral equivocations of the Resistance. On the other hand, it must be confessed that the signs are not encouraging.

The worst of all is the positively iniquitous treatment of the French zone of occupied Germany. The other zones are bad enough: but the French zone is a nightmare of spoliation, starvation and tyranny. And here the contradictions of French policy are grotesque: the Saar is pampered; a million bottles of champagne are sent to the French zone of Berlin; but conditions among the six million Germans of the South whom France directly governs are unspeakable. It is the social immorality of these contradictions that is so striking. One senses in them the truth in Mr. Tom Harrison's report:

"In individual relationships they remain intelligent, understanding, generous, responsible. In wider relationships selfishness and opportunism reign supreme. As one put it, in the extreme mood: 'Today 2 per cent have ideals—1 per cent of the top lot, the wonderful ones; 1 per cent at the bottom, true ideologists. No one else is moral!'" (New Statesman, Jan. 4).

### Utopia - or world war?

BUT it is on morality that the existence of the free society depends. That is, indeed, what the free society is: the moralised society. If it be indeed true, as is often said, that the only two disciplines that have a chance of asserting themselves in France are Catholicism and Communism, both of which are incompatible with the free society, the future is gloomy indeed: since neither of these could prevail except over the dead body of the other. Both are politically compromised from the point of view of the free society—or the fraction of Frenchmen who still believe in it, whose spokesman is M. Blum—Communism by its defeatism of 1939, Catholicism by its support of Vichy.

But there are voices of sanity. A reader has sent me a remarkable series of articles by M. Albert Camus which lately appeared in "Combat"—the best of the organs established by the Resistance. They bear the general title: "Neither Victims, nor Executioners." In them, he argues, vividly and convincingly, that the only escape from another world war is to create an international democracy—or, as I prefer to call it, a free society of nations. If that is called Utopian, then we must be clear that the choice is between this Utopia and world-war.

For this policy M. Camus appeals for a combination of "old socialists" (that is, men of Blum's persuasion) and the solitaires, not merely in France, but throughout the world. What M. Blum may have done by his courage is to make genuinely democratic socialism the party of initiative and unity in France. It is the best thing that could happen.

## WORLD CITIZENSHIP — AND UNO

IN response to an enquiry from the General-Secretary of the PPU, the Secretary-General of the United Nations declares that though the UN staff "do not accept any form of world citizenship and that no such form of citizenship is either in existence or contemplated," all members of the staff, including the Secretary-General himself, subscribe to the following oath upon accepting their appointment:

"I solemnly swear to exercise in all loyalty, discretion, and conscience the functions entrusted to me as a member of the international service of the United Nations, to discharge those functions and regulate my conduct with the interests of the United Nations only in view, and not to seek or accept instructions in regard to the performance of my duties from any government or other authority external to the Organisation."

Neither the United Nations nor, still less, the UN staff, constitute "the world"; but the idea of allegiance to an authority higher than that of the sovereign State is certainly carried one step forward by this oath.

## Pacifists of the world meet again

(CONTINUED FROM PAGE ONE)

Sen spoke not of any Indian pacifist movement, but of an Indian approach to the whole subject by attitude and way of life, which the West may well copy.

Germany was not directly represented, for the visa obtained for a delegate from Berlin had arrived too late, but Gordon West, just back from Aachen, described conditions to-day and the efforts being made to bring relief. It was reported that local sections of the International are being formed until such time as it is possible to re-form the whole German movement; affiliations have already been accepted from groups in Freiburg, Dortmund and Hamburg, and others are expected from Berlin, Hanover and Cologne.

There was a remarkable growth of the idea of war-resistance in Italy, also, where new members are being accepted as individuals until the first Italian section is organised. The messages read from Germany, Austria and Bulgaria were proof alone that pacifism is by no means defeated in these lands.

It was a refreshing and inspiring meeting; but the Council had more to do than gathering news from the sections. It had a financial report and a budget for expanding work which will demand expanding income (and incidentally revealed that the sale of foreign stamps realises about £100 per year for the WRI).

The Council received with regret the resignation of Ruth Fry as Treasurer and invited her to become a vice-president. John Fletcher is to take her place but he may shortly be joined by a co-treasurer from America. The idea was suggested for several reasons, one of which is to allay a fear once or twice expressed, that the WRI may be too predominantly British. Further to counter such an impression, it was agreed that invitations to become vice-presidents should be sent to a small group of people, names suggested including a German, an Indian and a Japanese.

The Council received with deep regret the resignation of Laurence Houseman from the Chair. It immediately appointed him President, and the Chairmanship passes to Runham Brown. Runham was a founder of the International and its Honorary Secretary from its inception; his change of office does not diminish his responsibility or contact with the work, and it honours him for his years of devotion.

Reports of the simultaneous conferences held early last year in many parts of the world were summarised by Stuart Morris. At each of them the WRI Declaration had been approved and confirmed. Arising from them a world manifesto against conscription is to be prepared, and new efforts are to be made through UNO and UNESCO to preserve the rights of the individual and his liberty of conscience in a world of restrictions.

Regional Councils of the WRI may be established to make possible simpler and more frequent contact between sections, and the next World Conference was initiated, to take place in the summer of 1948.

A report must be a cold presentation of the warmth and light of the Council's week-end, when the people

who met and the stories they told of what war resistance may mean, turned our local difficulties into trivialities.

It was good that the fellowship was shared and the visitors honoured by a larger gathering of friends in London on New Year's Eve. Stuart Morris presided and short speeches, music and refreshments were interspersed with lavish but never adequate conversation in an all too brief evening. The bonds were sealed when an Australian and a Yorkshireman (a few hours before the third test match) joined hands, as did Dutch and Indian, Dane and Swiss, Scotsman and American in a farewell "Auld Lang Syne." The true fellowship was alive again.

### Rhys Davies M.P.

MR. RHYS J. DAVIES has been MP for Westhoughton for twenty-five years. The Divisional Labour Party has decided to mark this important anniversary and has launched an appeal.

A small token presentation will be made to Mr. Davies. It is proposed to divide the remainder of the "Silver Jubilee Fund" thus raised between the Divisional Labour Party, the six local Labour Parties of the Division, and some local charitable cause nominated by Mr. Davies.

The appeal, issued from 11 Jacob Street, Hindley, Wigan, concludes:

"Our MP is best known for his long advocacy of Peace. He has attended many International Conferences and travelled extensively in pursuit of his aims. He steadfastly refuses to believe that war can ever settle satisfactorily the differences which from time to time divide nations and although his views are not universally popular, nevertheless, his sincerity is respected by all."

### NEW YEAR'S WISH

AN American atomic expert says that the next war will be fought with atomic bombs and the one after that with spears.

Even before reading Mumford's "Programme for Survival" it looked to us likely enough that Western civilisation would end by blowing itself up to vindicate its superiority and its miracles of scientific achievement. But is it equally plausible that the "backward" races would start the whole futile cycle from spear to atom bomb all over again? Instead of relapsing into their supposed barbarism we may yet find them rescuing us from our own!

Many of us have rejoiced this Christmas to entertain erstwhile enemy prisoners of war and other lonely guests from distant parts whom Nazi philosophy taught German youth to despise. A coal-black Ashanti Chieftain's grandson was the fortunate finder of the threepenny bit in our Christmas pudding. Duly instructed in the rites entitling him to a New Year's wish, this is what he said, confirmed in a letter to his hostess: "My wish remains the same as I uttered at the table when I discovered the coin. MAY THE FULLNESS AND BLESSING OF OUR CHRISTIAN SPIRIT BE THE SHARE OF THE WHOLE WORLD IN THE COMING YEAR."

Surely a message of hope for 1947? We must try to emulate that African's faith. Remember that since giving is part of sharing a contribution to the HQ Fund can help to make that New Year's wish come true.

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CLIFF GROVES, S.P.G.B.

and  
TONY GIBSON, London Anarchist Group  
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